C /13 cont./
133 Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They
C drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern
487 slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of
133 Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most im-
C portant one leading down to the Rio Paez by way of /14/ La Plata
[632] to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle
P to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive
[161] agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is
[101] one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

C The climatic differences of this region lying less than
132 three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, de-
133 pending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the
C Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is
[633] one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between
C there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation
[361] and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400
C and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of
[245] 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At
[249] the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the
[233] planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic
P C activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense.
● [648] The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively
P overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken
[361] by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which
C
[311]

1: Nachtigall--13 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

Part II

Ethnography

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I. Introduction

1. Historical Sketch of the History of the Paez since the Conquista

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When the Spanish general, Sebastian de Belalcazar, as lieutenant general of Francisco Pizarro, conquered the northern part of the Incá kingdom and founded the city of Quito in the year 1534, he made careful inquiries about the countries lying farther north. Then he met a foreign Indian who gave his name as Muquetá and that of his cacique /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ as Gogotá. When he was further questioned as to whether his country contained the metal that the Spaniards called gold, he eagerly affirmed this and added that in his country there is a lagoon /see the glossary, p. 249/, upon which his cacique travels with a raft several times a year, powdered from head to foot with gold dust, so that he looks like a gilded man. In this fashion he offers gold objects to the sun, whereupon he washes off his body and offers this gold, too, as a sacrifice. This story was the reason that Sebastian de Belalcazar in 1535 sent Diego de Tapia on an exploration to the north, in the direction of the land of El Dorado, the gilded man. He reached the present Rio Carchi. This became the starting point of the conquest of southern Colombia by the Spaniards.

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The resistance against the intruders shown by the natives of southern Colombia differed. The tribes of the Pasto and Quillacinga and the Cauca Valley tribes around Popayán offered only slight resistance. They had already been subjugated earlier by the soldiers of the Inca, whose kingdom with its northernmost expansion reached as far as Rio Ancasmayo. The Paez, Guambiano, Andaquí, and Pijao, on the other hand, living in barely accessible

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●648 parts of the Central Cordillera, offered the Spaniards violent and quite successful resistance. In the same year that Belalcazar sent out the first expedition, a troop of Spaniards under Pedro de Añasco set out for the north. In 1536 Belalcazar likewise followed him. In the course of that year he founded the cities of Popayán and Cali in the Cauca Valley, important /100/ starting points for further explorations. The latter proceeded in the direction of the Central Cordillera, the paramos of Moras and Guanacos, and Tierradentro. Amid constant battles with the Paez, who at that time occupied a considerably larger area than today, Belalcazar was repulsed and was obliged to return to Popayán and Lima, leaving behind 26 Spaniards, among them several officers. In 1537 he undertook a second assault from Popayán, in order to reach the land of El Dorado through Tierradentro. With 100 horsemen, 200 infantrymen, and more than a thousand Indios as porters, he came to the Magdalena River without being hindered by the Paez. After four months of hard fighting with the natives of the Magdalena Valley, he finally, on the plateau of Bogotá, met the conquistador Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, who had shortly before come from the north. A threatened clash of weapons between the two conquerors was prevented by the arrival of a third conquistador, that is, when Nikolaus Federmann, the German mercenary leader who was in the service of the Welsers /a German banking house/, reached Bogotá from the east, through the lowlands of Venezuela.

We again hear about the martial activity of the Paez when in 1538/39 Pedro de Añasco, with immeasurably cruel treatment of the natives, pushed into the Magdalena Valley, in order to keep open, at the command of Belalcazar, the connecting route from Quito to Santa Fé de Bogatá, the capital of the newly founded viceroyalty of New Granada. In a desperate battle 5,000 warriors of the united Timaná, Yalcon, Paez, and Apirama succeeded in overpowering the Spaniards and capturing their leader, Pedro de Añasco. The Indios provided a dreadful fate for him, who had had the son of the female cacique of the Timaná, Gaitana, burned. Gaitana, upon whose urging the

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175 alliance of the tribes against the Spaniards had come about, had
• 648 him dragged from village to village and one of his limbs hacked off each day.

In order to avenge the death of his comrade-in-arms, Juan de Ampudia with his mercenaries then set out in 1539/40 from Popayán for Tierradentro. But he and his mercenaries were overcome by the same fate. He himself lost his life, and his men were driven back by the Paez amid great losses. Not discouraged by this fate of his predecessors, Francisco Garcia set out on a new expedition into Tierradentro, but he, too, failed completely. The cacique Gaitana achieved, by means of fiery speeches, a renewed alliance of the Timaná, Paez, Yalcon, Apirama, Guanaca, and Pijao, and with 10,000 men she fell upon the city of Timaná and /101/ destroyed it. Its defender, Diego Ruiz des Campo, fell in an attempt, with his riders, to break through the dense swarm of Indian troops armed with the new weapon of lances 40 spans long.

Soon afterward Juan Cabrera was called from Neiva to Timaná for its reconstruction. The Yalcon offered peace and their co-operation in the reconstruction of the city destroyed by them. Juan Cabrera accepted this, and then, when the Yalcon and their caciques were assembled, he fell upon them from ambush and killed their caciques and the greater part of the men. There has not been a tribe of Yalcon since then.

The Paez remained intact and kept their peace until in 1543 Belalcazar returned from a brief stay in Spain and now, with 1,000 horsemen and fully equipped, undertook from Popayán an expedition of retaliation against the Paez. The Paez, fighting for their freedom in their mountains, stood up against the most experienced general of Spain. After severe, bloody losses Belalcazar was obliged to withdraw in defeat. From then on he made no further attempts to subjugate the Paez (*).

* There is a detailed description of this era, briefly sketched here, in H. Trimborn (1954), pp. 67-84 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 327/.

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175 ●648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [731] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 179 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
● 648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[131] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was
P unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-
162 colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 in-
632 habitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today
641 [162] are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some
[851] Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the
[191] country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for
641 them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their
423 totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is
641 supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to
423 the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed,
691 for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who
● 648 are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines C that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T 162 103 P 114 121 P 181 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present material, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unapproachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 648 101 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

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648 [101] [181] it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed. 123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to [177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.
[223] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.
● [648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

1: Nachtigall--30 , E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley of the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/257 cont./

754 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white
●648 Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them
797 openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyic against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyic then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyic had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human
789 beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be
[464] bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyic placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyic wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyic to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyic Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/293 cont./

*539 and even shut him up in a box. A second group of stories (Nos. 13-14) deals with tales about spirits, a third (Nos. 15-16) tales about Pijao, the feared man-eaters and dreadful enemies of the Paez. These are related to a certain extent to tales about werejaguars (Nos. 17-18). The remaining stories, which cannot be further classified, are given in the last group (Nos. 19-22). [114] In order to achieve a certain completeness, stories No. 1 and 2 about Juan Tama are given here as told by G. Bürg (p. 34) and G. Hernandez de Alba (1946, p. 953), respectively, and stories No. 4, 9, 10 as told by S. Bernal Villa (?) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

1. Juan Tama, the Water-born

The following remembrance of Juan Tama lives on among the Indians of Vitomcó: A long time ago there ruled in Vitomcó a female cacique who was childless and therefore always sad when she thought about who would follow her in power. One day when she was washing clothes at the confluence of the Rio Paez and a brook that comes from the Páramo de Moras (from the lagoon known today as Juan Tama), she saw in the water a floating piece of wood on which lay a small child. She fished it out, and, since it was a boy, she took him in, reared him, and, when he reached majority, made him cacique. This cacique -- known as Juan Tama today -- was very wise and strong and led his people against the Spaniards when the latter settled on the Magdalena [648] River. The last time he was seen on the Paez was in the great battle of San Vicente, where he and his troops succeeded in defeating the Spaniards. Since he had come floating on the water, he was not regarded as an ordinary human being, but rather it was assumed that he was sent to the cacique by her ancestors, or else that he descended directly from the gods who mated with the lagoon of Juan Tama, so that the latter is his mother. When Juan Tama saw that his people were victorious at San Vicente and no longer needed his protection, he disappeared again. He merely gave his subcaciques orders and then went back to his mother, the Lagoon de Juan Tama, where he lives to this day and from where he directs the destinies of his Indians in Tierradentro.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*χimba-kdl*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalacázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/177/

I

Point of Departure

To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has been overcome, but active resentment against the white still crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/180 cont./

123 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
133 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
823 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
● 648 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
[133]
[104]

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
173 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
823 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/182 cont./

423 461 [173] [628] [648] The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation. Ownership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its defense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

[735]

857 868 Children grow up in continuous communion with the activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their 342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

[759] [787]

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González --"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/191 cont./

829 665 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 623 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta, the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/199 cont./

388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
●648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/258 cont./

754 554 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path [182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 648 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

[433] [167] [464] The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emigration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[197]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as perma-
[181] nent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas. They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters -

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
● [648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

000 /335 cont./
423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
421 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[423] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
● [648] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1922; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

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All the region of Popayán and of the *Páez* in the Cordillera Central thus spoke closely related and very similar dialects which were often grouped. For example, the dialects of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón* were classed together. In the south, an area of the *Pasto* language extended to Ecuador. Between the *Pasto* and *Páez*, bordering also on the *Pijao*, the native peoples spoke *Quillacinga* and *Andaquí*.

Of all these languages, there survive today only *Páez*, which is spoken in Tierradentro, and its dialect, *Paniquitá*, on the western slope of the Cordillera Central in Toribío, Caldono, Jambaló, and in parts of Silvia and Totoró. *Moguex* and the related *Totoró* and *Polindara* are spoken in Silvia and in the regions of Totoró and Polindara, according to Otero. *Andaquí* is spoken by only a few scattered groups surviving in the lower region of the Caquetá River.

HISTORY

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After Don Sebastián de Belalcázar founded the City of Quito, he sent Diego de Tapia on a voyage of exploration toward the north in 1535 (Otero d'Costa, 1935 a). This expedition discovered the new lands of the Cordillera as far as the large Quillacinga River, today the Carchi River. This river became the point of departure for important travels in the same year by Pedro de Añasco, and in 1536 by Belalcázar, who founded Cali and Popayán, both key points for future expeditions and discoveries. These were the first White contacts with the Andean tribes of southern Colombia. In 1538, Belalcázar undertook a second expedition from Quito, crossing the Cordillera through *Páez* territory and then passing among the *Pijao* Indians. Both tribes resisted him with their feeble arms. He continued toward the east until he met the expeditions of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman at Bogotá. With the foundation of outposts by Jiménez de Quesada in the lands called the New Kingdom of Granada, Añasco was sent back to found Timaná in the territory of the *Timaná* and *Yalcón*. This city was to be the base for communications between Perú, Quito, Popayán, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

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The *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*, after a few encounters with the Spanish soldiers, in which they always suffered bloody defeats because of the weakness of their weapons (arrows, lances, wooden swords, and sometimes slings) and because the Spaniards used horses and hunting dogs, began to surrender. The inhabitants of the Valley of Popayán, who were poor warriors, also ceased to struggle. These tribes had previously suffered the *Inca* invasion, which had extended north to the Angasmayo River, which washed their lands. But the *Páez*, *Moguex*, *Andaquí*, and *Pijao*, thanks to the rugged mountains in their territory and to their more bellicose character and better organization, presented a serious obstacle to the Spaniards' ideal route, which had been drawn

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by Belalcázar between the Kingdom of Quito and Bogotá. Few Spaniards wished to adventure through these wild lands where the Indians were strong and ambushed them. The founders of Timaná were constantly attacked, and the frightening legend of cannibalism began to spread. It was said that Spaniards were the preferred victims, and that the Indians considered the flesh of enemies the finest morsels in their great victory feasts. The soldiers collected some gold in the so-called penetrations (entradas) of the country—attacks really made to kill the natives, to destroy their crops, and to burn their houses. All of this made the Indians resist more strongly, but it was necessary to clear the road to Santa Fé, and the war of extermination went on without respite. Belalcázar himself returned to *Páez* territory and was defeated at the rocky cliff of Talagá in 1541, only to return with more than 200 soldiers, of whom 100 had horses, and spread blood and fire among the Indian villages. But the Indians made reprisals. They assailed Timaná and killed its mayor, after putting out his eyes and leading him through the market places with a cord passed through his face. This act of vengeance was to satisfy Gaitana, a valiant warlike Indian woman who had formed various Indian alliances against the Spaniards because they burned her son. In 1543, the *Pijao* destroyed the town of Los Angeles, recently founded in the Neiva Valley. They continually attacked the area surrounding Ibagué, but many of them were defeated and killed in 1556 in the plains of Chaparral by Francisco de Trejo's troops. Both Spaniards and Indians were stubborn in their struggles, the Indians being unwilling to make peace as long as they were being killed and their crops destroyed.

The struggle was rekindled in 1562 when Captain Domingo Lozano, having requested the privilege of conquering the Indians, organized an army and entered *Páez* territory. He founded the town of San Vicente de Páez near Huila Mountain in order to ensure Spanish domination of the heart of the country. But the Indians ambushed his soldiers and gradually killed off the cavalry, the Spaniards' strongest troops. Eventually, they destroyed San Vicente and again controlled their own rugged lands. The *Pijao*, meanwhile, fought to the death. They destroyed Villa Vieja or Neiva in 1569 and, allied with the *Páez*, took San Sebastián de la Plata in 1577, killing all its inhabitants and burning the houses. They finally put an end to and avenged the Spaniards' exploitation of a silver mine which had been discovered in *Moscopan* and *Yalcón* territory in 1551.

Fleeing Spanish pressure which extended from Timaná toward the heart of the Andes, the *Andaquí*, exhausted by the wars, followed the high hills to the east, and began in 1564 to descend toward the Caquetá River.

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The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor.

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether.

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands.

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated,

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in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Pdez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

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The captain was, therefore, like the aboriginal hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group.

The decrease of the native population was accelerated until, in the Province of Popayán, according to "Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá," by Francisco Silvestre (1927), there were in the 1789 only 64,463 inhabitants—3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 of Indians, 4,793 of freemen (Negroes), and 3,247 slaves (Negroes), who worked in the mines and haciendas and replaced the Indians, who were disappearing. When the revolution against Spain began, the various groups of Indians in this region behaved very differently, each according to the disposition previously shown. The *Pasto* followed the Spanish troops, forming a royalist unit that was difficult to conquer, whereas the *Páez* took the part of the Republic and were led by the celebrated Indian Chief, Gregorio Calambás, who was shot by Warleta, and thus became a martyr of Colombian Independence.

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With the consolidation of the Republic, the laws of Colombia established reservations for the Indians, but the neglect and exploitation characteristic of the Colonial Period continued, and there were only a few missions. There has not been contemplated until now any economic, cultural, or sanitary betterment of these natives. Most of them finally have disappeared, vanquished by diseases, by economic want, which the new necessities created and contact with civilization aggravated, and by the shrinkage of their reservation lands through the ambition of those who made it a policy to break up the native communities through official subdivision of their lands.

THE CULTURE OF THE PASTO, COAIQUER, QUILLACINGA, AND POPAYANENSE

The *Pasto* or *Coaiquer*, the *Quillacinga*, and the *Popayanense* formed a culturally homogeneous group at the time of the Conquest and later experienced very similar acculturation.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Subsistence was based on intensive horticulture. Each family had its own small fields and grew potatoes and other tubers, xiquimas, a grain which Cieza calls cebada, quinio or quinoa, and maize, of which there was little in *Pasto* territory but much elsewhere.

A simple, pointed stick is used today in Nariño for planting.

The historians do not mention communal work in agriculture, but probably it was carried out in the form of labor loans (minga) between individuals, as today in Nariño and Cauca. The beneficiary of help in harvesting crops has to give each helper a basketful of the produce, a form of compensation called "chindé." He is also obligated to give similar help to the others. This communal labor is more solemn when the Indians work and plant the lands of the

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Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).

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Moguex

list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

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the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

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628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

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727 To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

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As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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